S
631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.
175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian
S N inhabitants in general.
175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking, the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
S N minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
175 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e.g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts (Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these unsuccessful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode
175 of Economy of the Minorities.
631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S N political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
175 of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
631 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it
668 was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
178 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
619 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
648 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road, Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "bliks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S
563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
S This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.
792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S There are slight differences in herd ownership and
563 management between the various tribes of the Western
619 Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
233 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red
422 tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
[602] individuals while others do not. The basis for different
[609] types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
563 other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of
177 history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition
S underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of
[184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N The Salars:
563 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes
794 of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N To their new home the Salars brought with them the
[197] original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken
N [191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a
563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

212
563 5. Literature

a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis
563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
175 genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
[142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
613 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

563 4. Literature
538 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
[173] from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[212] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History
175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[144] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[538] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
[167] a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
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20.

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are , or rather were, only a
[101] group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
• [619] ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the
Torgut, Khoshut, Ölot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
175 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
563 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home, which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zŏůn gar "right
[131] wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan, another small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

19 Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aɣu, *egŭ, etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caɣaɣan "white"	čaɣan	tsaɣān
*qaǰaɣar "bridle"	qaǰaɣar	ɣazār
*qaβalɣa "gate"	qaɣalɣa	χālɣ•
*čiɣiraɣ <*tiɣiraɣ "massive"	čigiraɣ	tšīr•G "solid"
*dɑɣuda- "to call"	dɑɣuda-	dūn "voice"
*toɣarī- "to turn"	toɣori-	tōr- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
biraɣu "calf"	bŭrū
miqan "meat"	maχ̣n
sira "yellow"	šar•
milaɣa "lash"	maĺā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: ǰida "spear" Kalmuck: džid• < *ǰide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ǰ became in Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čaɣan "white"	tsaɣān
časun "snow"	tsasn̥
čisun "blood"	tsusn̥
ǰekegŭn "cold"	zekŭn
ǰelkei "thief"	zelkā

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family. The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul. A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals, on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution. Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and other property.

The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a declined clan only has the function of an aul.

A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

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The Kirghiz Nation

1) Horde: The Right Flank (Ong)

a) Tribe Bugu with the clans:

Tselek	Bor	Shykmayat
Torgo	Dölös	Kala
Bapa	Kongrat	Assan-tukum
Yeldün	Monguldur	Aryk-tukum
Talabai	Sayak	Küchük
Serike	Udu	

b) Tribe Sary-bagysh with the clans:

Saru	Sayak	Mundus
Kala	Assik	Kitai
Monguldur	Dölös	Yetigän
Shykamat	Kongrat	

c) Tribe Soltu with the clans:

Yetigän	Monguldur
Kuchu	Mundus
Saru	Assyk

d) Tribe Edigäna with the clans:

Dölös	Mundus
Saru	Sayat (incomplete)
Kongrat	Kaba
Monguldur	Shykamat

e) Tribe Chong-bagysh with the clans:

Askaly	Kandabas
Toro	Kosh-tamga
Macjak	Kuan-duan
Ush-tamga	

f) Tribe Cherik ('army') with the clans:

Ak-chubak
Bai-chubak (incomplete)

2) Horde: The Left Flank (Sol) (no tribal names known)

Known clan names are:

Saru
Besh-beren
Mundus
Töngtörüp
Kuchu
Kükürün
Yetigän

Note: The Kirghiz who nomadize in Sinkiang belong mostly to the tribes Bugu and Soltu and Chong-bagysh.

The Uzbek Nation

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1) Tribe Kytai with the clans:
   - Sary Kytai (yellow Kytai)
   - Otartshy
   - Kanjygaly (with leather straps on the saddle)
   - Kosh-tamgaly (with double tamga)
   - Tarakly (with combs)
   - Balgaly (with hammers)

2) Tribe Kypchak with the clans:
   - Tort-tamgaly (with four tamgas)
   - Sary-Kypchak (the yellow Kypchak)
   - Togus Bai (the nine principalities)

3) Tribe Kyrkmän-Yüz with the clans:
   - Kara-koily (those with black sheep)
   - Karacha (blackish)
   - Kara-sirak
   - Chapanashly

4) Tribe Yüz (hundred) with the clans:
   - Karapcha
   - Tygyryk
   - Pürchüyüs
   - Koyan Kulakly (those with rabbit ears)
   - Ergänäkli
   - Solakly
   - Khankhoja-kytaisy
   - Haji-kytaisy
   - Tuyakly (those with hoofs)
   - Sirgäli (those with ear rings)

5) Tribe Kangly
6) Tribe Naiman
7) Tribe Ming
8) Tribe Känägäs
9) Tribe Mangyt
10) Tribe Uch-ru consisting of the three groups:
    a) Mesit
    b) Yaby
    c) Tama
11) Tribe Sarai
12) Tribe Burkut
13) Tribe Allat
14) Tribe Bäkhrin
15) Tribe Batash

[169] Note: It is impossible to say to which tribes or clans the Uzbeks of Sinkiang belong since most of them came to Sinkiang as single individuals and not in the form of a tribal migration.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among